University of Nottingham
Rights Lab

FREE THE SLAVES

MODERN SLAVERY & HUMAN RIGHTS
POLICY & EVIDENCE CENTRE
Led by the Bingham Centre

Building resilience against exploitation in Senegal in the context of Covid-19

Full Report

April 2021

Contents

1. Introduction

This report details research findings emerging from the study '*Building Local Resilience to Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking after Covid-19: Action Research in Senegal and Kenya'* and focuses on results relating to Senegal. The research was led by the University of Nottingham in collaboration with the US-based NGO Free the Slaves, and funded by the Modern Slavery and Human Rights Policy and Evidence Centre (the Modern Slavery PEC) through the UK Government's Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The views expressed in the report are those of the authors and not necessarily of the Modern Slavery PEC. This project was funded through an open call for proposals to examine the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on modern slavery.

The purpose of this study was to undertake a holistic analysis to highlight how structural factors, legislation, local-level institutions, systems and practices that contribute to resilience against exploitation are being impacted by Covid-19 in urban centres within Senegal and Kenya. Our aim was to provide a theoretically-informed investigation that offers a fresh perspective on understanding and building resilience, informed and shaped by the expertise and local knowledge of those working in each setting. We focussed on four key questions:

- What factors underpin community resilience against exploitation in each setting?
- How were antislavery projects contributing to building resilience before Covid-19? Which other stakeholders played critical roles?
- How is Covid-19 impacting on the structural issues, legislation, institutions, systems and practices that underpin resilience to exploitation?
- What issues, partnerships and processes need to be prioritised to ensure that resilience is developed and protected?

We hope that this report will offer a contribution to dialogue between public, private and voluntary-sector stakeholders working on this issue in the region and generate further discussion on how to enhance action against all forms of modern slavery and human trafficking in the wake of Covid-19.

Acknowledgments

We would like to offer our thanks and appreciation to all the stakeholders in Senegal that have contributed their time and expertise to interviews and workshops underpinning this research.

This research has been developed by the University of Nottingham's Rights Lab in collaboration with Free the Slaves. We are grateful to the following individuals for their contribution to planning, designing and carrying out this research:

Free the Slaves Team: Bukeni Waruzi, Lamine Gaye, Papa Fall, Gorgui Diallo, Cheikh Issa Diop, Jackline Mwende, Anita Nyanjong, Casey Branchini, Pauline Werner, Joha Braimah, Christa Giesecke

The Rights Lab Team: Alison Gardner, Phil Northall, Juliana Semione, Jess Lendon, Amelia Watkins-Smith, Olivia Wright, Nathalie Walters.

A note on terminology

In the UK the phrase 'modern slavery' is widely used as an ‘umbrella’ term covering slavery, servitude, forced and compulsory labour, as well as human trafficking. However, participants in our research (SEN 004, SEN 009, SEN 013) were clear that this term is not recognised or widely used in the Senegalese context. Slavery is a loaded word for many respondents, representing a connection with a colonial past that Senegal has since overcome. As one contributor put it:

> *“The subject you have not addressed is the qualification of concepts. In my opinion, in this kind of research, you have to try to start with that because the definitions of certain concepts are different from a region to another…. Otherwise we can talk to each other, but we may not understand each other” (SEN 013)*

When interviewees were consulted for this study, they most often linked the topic to issues of child exploitation and forced begging. ‘Human trafficking’ was also a term that was utilised, but often in the specific sense of cases of foreign nationals being trafficked across international borders, rather than in reference to domestic trafficking or wider forms of exploitation.

Conscious that there is no shared conceptualisation of the term ‘modern slavery’, we have in general substituted ‘exploitation’ in this report or used specific terms such as slavery, servitude, forced and compulsory labour, human trafficking and early or forced marriage, where appropriate. When referring to the issue as a whole and associated actors we use the phrase ‘anti-trafficking sector’. We also highlight in our findings participant comments that developing a more widely understood definition and language around this topic would help in facilitating future collaboration, both within Senegal and between Senegalese projects and international partners.

2. Methodology

Theoretical framework: conceptualising resilience against exploitation

Community resilience against exploitation can be defined as the adaptive capacity for a community to prevent, identify and respond to cases, and promote a context conducive to sustaining freedom.

Research suggests that the factors underpinning this resilience can be structural or legislative, but also exist at the local level in the form of local institutions, culture and social norms (Gardner, Northall and Brewster 2020). These 'social determinants' of resilience interact with individual, personal and psychological factors to create a context that can promote or inhibit different forms of exploitation. They are not fixed but continuously changing in response to events and external pressures, which may engender both positive and negative systemic effects (see figure 1).

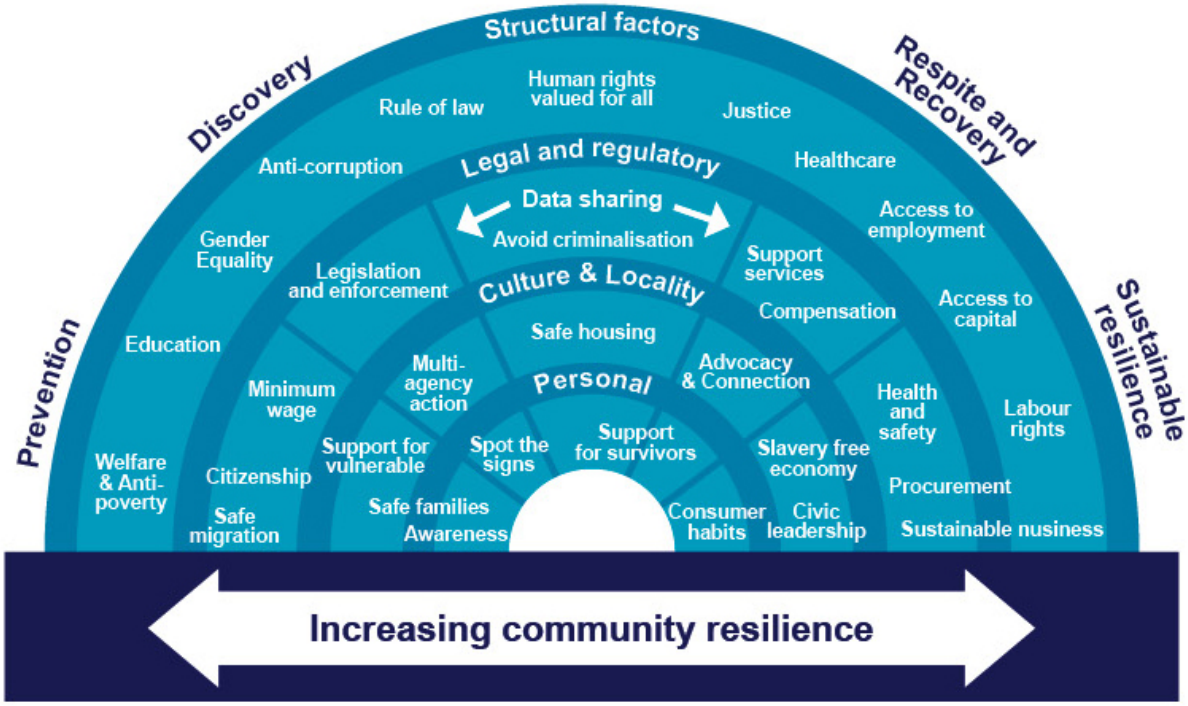
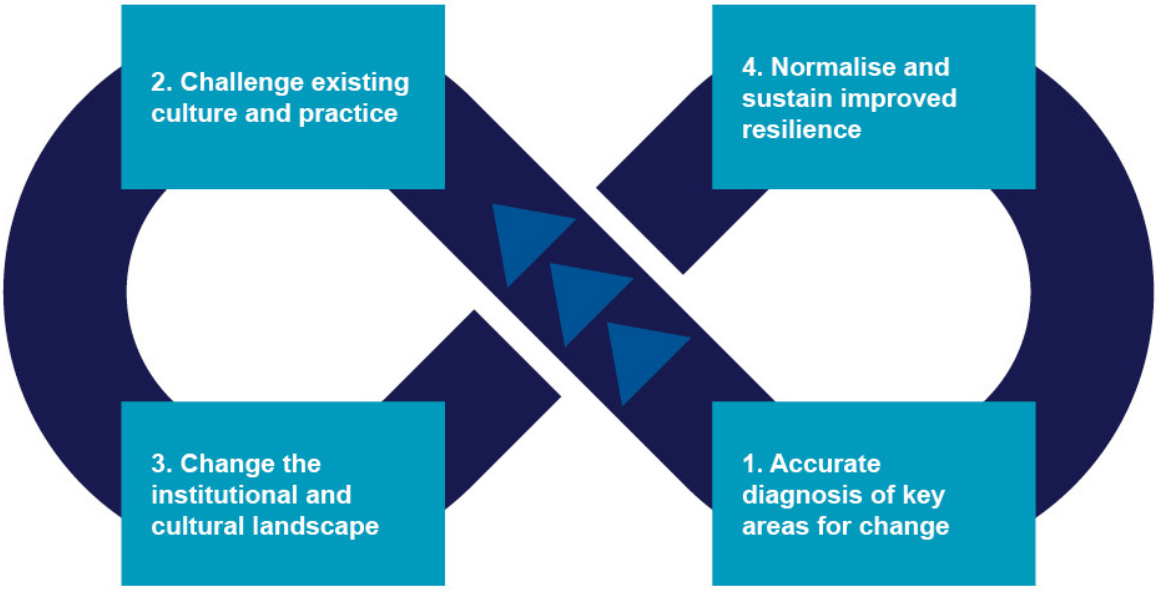


Figure 1: Social determinants of community resilience against exploitation

Building community resilience is also a process, which involves a continuous cycle of problem-diagnosis, developing coalitions to drive change, addressing social, cultural and institutional barriers and consolidating changes through adjustments to policy and legislation. This process must be embedded in communities as well as driven by governments, NGOs and the private sector (see figure 2).

Figure 2: An adaptive cycle to build resilience against exploitation



The process of building community resilience against exploitation involves four stages:

1) Diagnose problems and potential solutions, including risk and vulnerability. Local manifestations of exploitation can be rendered more obvious by analysis of risk factors, and highlighting geographic, demographic, or sectoral weaknesses. This process can also recognise assets within the community.

2) Challenge hierarchies and systems. Having identified determinants and assets at the community level, a community development process can involve a wider range of actors. Survivor voices are crucial to informing this process, and challenging existing systemic imbalances and weaknesses.

3) Change cultural and institutional landscapes. This phase aims to start shifting cultural and institutional practices, exploring what assets and innovation can enable change, especially in relation to some of the structural determinants that promote vulnerability to exploitation.

4) Normalise and sustain practice. This phase of the cycle considers what changes to governance, legislation and policy are needed to embed the positive changes identified and achieved. It involves monitoring and evaluation of progress to date, as well sharing learning widely, and initiating further governance change where necessary.

This research project used 'social determinants' of exploitation as a framework to explore what underpins resilience to exploitation in Senegal, where vulnerabilities may exist, and how Covid-19 is changing the situation. The adaptive cycle outlined at figure 2 is also used to review how Senegal might build resilience against exploitation in future plans and actions.

Research methods

The research team from the Rights Lab adopted a collaborative action-research approach, working closely to plan and co-design the project with field-based partners Free the Slaves. Action research has been defined by Reason and Bradbury as seeking "to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally, the flourishing of individual persons and their communities" (2011 p.4). It is characterised by researchers and practitioners collaboratively producing socially and scientifically relevant knowledge, towards transformative action (Bartels and Wittmayer 2018).

We worked with Free the Slaves to map key stakeholders engaged in anti-slavery work at the local level (See **Box 1**). These stakeholders included transnational actors, national and local governments, community leaders and NGOs.

Our research methods included:

- A literature review of both academic and 'grey' literature to review the wider social, economic and policy context, as well as anti-trafficking activity prior to Covid-19. The literature search was enhanced by contributions from the Free the Slaves' in-country staff to capture more recent news and literature not discoverable through academic and online sources.
- 24 semi-structured interviews with 22 different stakeholders using three different questionnaires to explore different aspects of the social determinants of resilience. These were undertaken by a team of Senegalese field-based researchers, directed by Free the Slaves. Examples of the questionnaires are included at Appendix 1.

Interviews were coded against our resilience framework using N-vivo software to help us understand how social determinants influencing resilience against exploitation were being impacted by Covid-19, and which additional factors were emerging as important. We also held a workshop with stakeholders that had participated in the interviews to review findings and discuss potential recommendations.

Limitations of the study

The key limitation of this study was that it needed to be completed over a short timescale, from October 2020 to March 2021, due to the funder's aim of generating urgent findings that could inform policy responses in the short to medium term. This has somewhat constrained the scope of the project, meaning that its contribution is mainly to review the existing evidence and provide an initial diagnostic on issues relating to resilience against exploitation, which could become the basis for ongoing action in concert with key stakeholders and local communities.

It should also be noted that this remote approach to conducting action-research was experimental, given that due to Covid-related travel restrictions many interactions were conducted online. Whilst we have developed an excellent partnership and this has - in many ways - proved a fruitful and cost-effective approach to undertaking research, it was not a perfect substitute for the more nuanced understanding that field and in-person visits provide.

We therefore continue to welcome the input of Senegalese stakeholders in order to build upon this report and further develop issues we may have missed. The authors can be contacted via **alison.gardner@nottingham.ac.uk**, or **info@freetheslaves.net**

Box 1

Key organisational actors in the anti-MSHT system, Dakar, Senegal

International organisations

UNICEF
UNODC
World Bank
United Nations Office for Human Rights (OHCHR)
USAID

National Government

Ministère de la Femme, de la Famille, du Genre, de la Protection des Enfants
Direction de la Protection des Droits de l'Enfant (DPDE)
Cellule Nationale de Lutte Contre la Traite des Personnes (CNLTP)
Conseiller Technique du Président de la République en Protection de l'Enfance
Service du Ministère de la Santé et de l'ActionSociale
Service du Travail (Cellule Nationale de Lutte Contre les Pires Formes de Travail des Enfants)

Regional / Local Government

Comité Départemental de Protection de l'Enfant des 4 départements de la région de Dakar (Dakar – Pikine – Guédiawaye – Rufisque)
Commune de Diamaguene Sicap Mbao
Commune de Pikine Nord
Commune de Fass Gueule Tapée
Commune de Médina

NGOs

Institut des Droits de l'Homme et de la Paix (IDHP)
Coalition Nationale des Associations et ONG en Faveur de l'Enfance (CONAFE)
Rencontre Africaine pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme (RADDHO)
Amnesty International
Coalition des Organisations en Synergie pour la Défense de l'Education Publique (COSYDEP)
Unies Vers Elles Senegal
Plateforme pour la Promotion et la Protection des Droits Humains (PPDH)
ENDA Jeunesse Action (JA)
Samu Social Sénégal
Empire des Enfants (EDE)
Global Solidarity Initiative (GSI)
Marple Afrique Solidarité
Plan International
La Lumiere

Professional Associations

Association des Juristes Sénégalais
Collectif des Maitres Coraniques (CDMC)
Réseau des journalistes en faveur des enfants

3. Exploitation in Senegal prior to Covid-19

In order to assess the impact of Covid-19 on policies and programmes to address exploitation, the project team undertook a literature review, which focussed on gathering information relating to the situation that existed before the pandemic in relation to the 'social determinants' of resilience against exploitation. This review looked at the different types of exploitation most commonly encountered in Senegal, as well as pre-existing vulnerabilities, in relation to structural factors; legislation and policy; local, cultural and institutional factors, and known issues impacting on individual awareness and behaviours. We have also supplemented observations made in the literature with additional points highlighted by our fieldwork.

In addition to vulnerabilities, Senegal has significant assets which provide a sound basis for creating sustainable freedom. These include the state's foundation as a stable democracy and participation in global markets and networks which has been shown to be a critical factor in predicting lower prevalence of exploitation (Landman and Silverman 2019). The 2010 adoption of the Law on Parity is also a benchmark in efforts to secure gender equality in Senegal, placing Senegal among the top countries in Africa - and the leading Muslim country in the world—in terms of women's political representation (UN Women n.d. Tøraasen 2019). Senegal also has a range of laws and policies to address trafficking, as well as actors at international, national and local level who are working to combat different forms of exploitation.

Although the summary included in **Table 1 (overleaf)** cannot do justice to the complexity of the picture on the ground it does highlight some key aspects of the implicit 'theory of change' (the main policy initiatives and accompanying assumptions and expectations) underpinning anti-trafficking activity, prior to the pandemic.

Types of exploitation most prevalent in Senegal

In Senegal the principal focus of anti-trafficking activity falls on child exploitation. Child exploitation is difficult to address in Senegal because practices that place children at risk are often deeply rooted in religion or tradition, or the desire for social advancement. Parents and the general public do not always acknowledge the exploitation identified by NGOs or other entities.

The most prevalent form is forced begging by 'talibé' children, (the collective term for children studying and living in residential Quranic schools or daaras), although begging by street children living outside the daara system was also recognised to be significant by some of our interviewees. Children within the daaras often enter for educational opportunities and social advancement. Research has suggested that parents want 'their sons to become respected citizens, good Muslims and dedicated Quran teachers'. Ironically, this is sometimes the result of previous generations' experience of slavery and the parents' fears that their sons will face discrimination unless they are given new opportunities (Einarsdóttir and Boiro 2016).

Commercial sexual exploitation is sometimes associated with the practice of mbaraan – offering sexual favours, often as part of a relationship motivated by 'the desire to increase… consumption capacity' or practiced 'in order to make ends meet and access a higher standard of living' (ECPAT 2018; Foley 2019). The US Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report (Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2020) also notes that girls and boys are subjected to sexual exploitation and forced labour in domestic servitude and gold mines. Our interviewees also reported instances of human trafficking involving women from outside Senegal, as well as child sex tourism in major cities and tourist areas.

Parents in rural areas sometimes send their children to live with families to 'improve their standard of living' under the informal adoption system 'confiage', (Baury and Josenhans 2019) which can

sometimes result in cases of domestic servitude and sexual exploitation. A number of our interviewees also highlighted labour exploitation as part of apprenticeships.

There is relatively little attention to the exploitation of adults in Senegal, and the government did not report identifying or referring any adult trafficking victims during the reporting period for the 2020 TIP report. However, it is recognised that unregulated agency-arranged migration to gulf countries has increased the risk of exploitation for Senegalese workers travelling overseas (Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2020). In the autumn of 2020 there were also concerns about the re-opening of a hazardous informal migration route from the Senegalese coast to the Canary Islands, which could also act as a potential attractant for traffickers (Shryock 2020).

Table 1: A theory of change for addressing exploitation In Senegal prior to Covid-19

Intended goals of anti-trafficking work prior to COVID
▪ Improved consistency of legislation and child-rights framework ▪ Improved child protection and enforcement ▪ Reduction in risk – particularly in relation to daaras, but also practices of child labour, confiage and mbaraan relating to children under 18 years old. ▪ Prior to 2010 there were also substantial EU funded programmes to reduce irregular migration
Programme inputs
▪ NGO advocacy for children's rights ▪ Government awareness campaigns on TV, radio, press and internet ▪ Government emphasis on child protection and enforcement – training for police, prosecutors, judges. Provision of shelters (government and NGOs) ▪ Local, municipal and community-based programming to improve conditions in daaras
(Problematic?) Assumptions
▪ Greater consistency in legislation on children (Children's Code) will drive improved enforcement? ▪ Human, technical and financial resources will be available to implement child rights? ▪ Society supports improvements in child rights? ▪ Lack of community 'awareness' of potential risks drives participation in high-risk activity?
Programme outputs
▪ Some increases in arrests and prosecutions of teachers for child abuse but resources are lacking to implement child-protection infrastructure fully. ▪ Some successes in engaging local leaders and communities at local and municipal level.
Known limitations of existing programmes
▪ Families often do not welcome intervention of NGOs to return children from daaras. ▪ Many prosecutions are dropped or charges reduced. ▪ Recent re-establishment of irregular migration via boat to Canary Islands following tightening of North African routes into Europe.
Key critiques arising from literature
▪ Relatively narrow focus for anti-trafficking work, which has been principally focussed on children, rather than adults or families, and talibés rather than wider forms of exploitation ▪ Tendency to focus initiatives on Dakar and surrounding areas ▪ Low rates of enforcement and prosecution in comparison to scale of exploitation. ▪ Limited attention to drivers for some high risk practices, including seeking a higher standard of living in a context of poverty, unequal access to education, and gender inequalities. ▪ Greater attention needed to institutional and inter-generational drivers including religious institutions and social norms. ▪ Better regulation of industries such as tourism, mining, fishing etc. is needed.

Selected structural factors impacting on exploitation

Poverty: Senegal has made considerable progress in poverty reduction over the past two decades, with the percentage of those living below the poverty line dropping from 55% in 2001 to 47% in 2011. Economic growth has also been strong, averaging above 6% annually (The World Bank n.d.). However there are regional inequalities with rural regions being in the most disadvantaged situation. Social programmes targeting families in the most vulnerable situations, such as those giving access to free education and health services, tend to rely on international cooperation, and decentralized systems are sometimes not equipped or financed to ensure adequate provision of basic social services locally' (UN CRC 2016).

One respondent to our study described how poverty was linked to parents' acceptance of exploitative educational institutions, but felt this issue was more relevant for communities in outlying rural areas than Dakar. 'It is generally children from very poor families who are sent to these daaras and who are either victims of human trafficking or begging.' (SEN 019) Another highlighted links to child marriage:

> *we know that poverty can be one of the causes of child marriage. Some families or some parents think that a daughter can be a burden. If they can find ways to get rid of her, so much the better. They might give her away in marriage out of respect, custom or religion, and use these elements as a reason for deciding to marry a child' (SEN 004).*

Access to employment: Informal work, including self-employment, is the primary employment pathway in Senegal. Informal employment accounts for 95.4% of total non-agricultural employment, and the national economic fabric is mostly made up of informal units (97%). Informal workers typically have temporary and poorly paid jobs offering no social security, and disadvantages in terms of access to health services (UNDP 2020; The Platform of European NGOs in Senegal n.d.)

Access to healthcare: Key issues include maternal healthcare and birth registration. In 2012 the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Wellbeing of the Child (ACERWC) lodged a formal concern that many births take place outside of appropriate health structures (sometimes at home in rural and peri-urban areas) due to their inaccessibility, but also because of prescription costs and other charges (2012). Births that occur outside of medical facilities are less likely to be registered, a factor that can be critical to accessing education and social services (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child 2016). A mother's access to medical care during childbirth can, therefore, influence her child's access not only to neonatal health but to other basic rights throughout life.

Access to justice: Some observers argue that Senegalese laws against exploitation are not routinely enforced. For example, in 2019 'there was an overall increase in arrests and prosecutions of [Quranic] teachers for child abuse or exploitation, however, in many cases, the investigations were dropped or charges reduced' (ECPAT 2019).

Child rights: There is a general call, echoed by state and non-state actors, to harmonise Senegal's child rights commitments (for example, ECPAT 2018; UN OHCHR 2020). One mechanism for this is for Senegal to adopt the Children's Code, which is discussed further in the legislation section of this review. Although there are multiple laws currently in place to protect children's rights, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) has expressed concerns about implementation, allocating sufficient resources, overlapping and duplicative interventions, and inadequate coordination (2016).

Education: Although enrolment in primary education is now at 82%, some children continue to face challenges in accessing and completing education, with only 47% of the potential cohort enrolled at secondary level in 2019 (The World Bank n.d.) Historically, more boys have been educated than girls, although this picture is changing. Gender-based factors impacting girls' experience of education include, 'the lack of separate toilets … as well as the early marriages that prevent girls from continuing their education' (ACERWC 2012) and a 'high rate of sexual violence and harassment directed against girls on the way to and from school, and at school, including by teachers' (UN CRC 2016). Teenage girls also face difficulties in returning to school after pregnancies (ACERWC 2012; UN CRC 2016). One interviewee noted that

'there are many children who are left behind, who are outside the formal education system, who are either in the daaras, or even in trade apprenticeship centres like carpentry, or sewing, etc... And they are left out of the system, they are unfortunately not taken care of' (SEN 008).

Gender equalities: Challenges around girls' access to education sit in a wider context of persistent gender inequality issues. For example, The Family Code sets the minimum age for marriage at 16 for girls whereas it is 18 for boys. Furthermore, 'the Penal Code legalizes customary marriage and sexual relations for girls aged 13 or above' (UN CRC 2016). In 2019 8.8% of girls were married under the age of 15 and 30.5% under the age of 18 (ANSD 2020). Girls who marry are unlikely to continue their education after marriage. Foley points out that one of the many disadvantages of disrupted education is that these girls are ill-equipped to enter the workforce should they need financial independence from their husbands or family (2019). Lower levels of education may also intersect with other factors compelling some Senegalese women to engage in mbaraan or commercial sexual activity in-country.

Selected legislative and regulatory factors impacting on exploitation

Anti-MSHT law: Senegal's 2005 Law to Combat Trafficking in Persons criminalises human trafficking and may include servitude, forced labour, and practices similar to slavery (Allain and Schwarz n.d.). Senegal's definition of human trafficking is aligned to the Palermo Protocol (ECPAT 2018). However, there is no domestic legislation in place in Senegal which prohibits slavery explicitly (Allain and Schwarz n.d.).

An electronic data collection system (known as Systraite) has been in place since 2016. In 2019 the Systraite system was expanded by the Ministry of Justice and CNLTP, in partnership with the International Organisation for Migration IOM, as a means to collect improved information on victims, convictions and traffickers in Dakar, Kedougou, St Louis, Tambacounda and Thies (Peyton 2019; ILO 2021).

Access to support and compensation for survivors: Human Rights Watch noted in 2019 that only three of Senegal's 14 regions have state-run shelters for victims of trafficking, which limits the support available to victims. The US TIP report also notes that victim referral systems were applied inconsistently and that key officials were not always aware of services available (especially for adults) which could cause delays (Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2020).

The Code of Criminal Procedure facilitates compensation for victims, but interviews confirmed that this process can be slow. ECPAT reports that families often prefer 'amicable settlements with the perpetrator' in cases where a child is victimised, often 'for fear of stigmatisation'. Under these circumstances, victims usually receive less than they are legally entitled to (ECPAT 2018).

Equalities legislation: Although Senegalese society is becoming more equal in political representation, inequalities affecting individuals 'in vulnerable and marginalised situations' remain in legislation. Vulnerable and marginalised people include, 'girls, children in street situations and talibés, children with disabilities, children belonging to lower castes, children living in rural areas, and children infected and/or affected by HIV/AIDS' (UN CRC 2016). Adults in these situations are similarly in need of protection and would benefit from revision to legislation.

Children with disabilities represent a group with unique vulnerabilities. Senegal's Social Policy Orientation Act is among the policies that 'protect the rights of children with disabilities and guarantee equal opportunities for them and … promote inclusive education' (UN CRC 2016). However, the UN CRC has stated its concern at low numbers of disabled children accessing education and a 'high prevalence and acceptance of abuse, violence, stigma and exclusion, particularly in rural areas, … against children with intellectual and psycho-social impairments' (2016).

Migrant Rights: Prior to 2010, Senegal acted as a launch point for asylum seekers and migrants crossing to the Canary Islands by boat in a bid to enter Europe. The crossing is 1500km and typically involves an eight-day boat journey, often departing from Mbour, 100km south of Dakar. 2020 saw a

revival of this route, attributed to the collapse of the local fishing industry due to over-fishing in Senegalese waters by foreign powers, Covid-19 restrictions on local fishermen, and a crack-down on shorter crossing routes from North Africa. More than 400 people from Senegal are believed to have died attempting the journey since October 2020 (Shryrock 2020).

Migrants who enter Senegal as victims of trafficking benefit from, 'a right of asylum or long-term residence. … according to Article 8 relating to the status of refugees, the beneficiaries of this right have the same treatment as [Senegalese] nationals with regard to access to education, scholarships, labour law and social benefits', including the right to work. These provisions do not depend on a successful human trafficking trial (Ministry of Justice n.d.).

Regulation of sex work: Sex work is legal and workers can register with the state to receive access to medical care and, in some cases, social services. [Registrants] undergo regular medical screenings, attend monthly education sessions, receive free condoms, and may receive financial assistance with housing, school fees, and prescription drugs (Foley 2019). The Penal Code criminalises profiting from the prostitution of another person (Ministry of Justice n.d.). However, Foley also argues that commercial sex work in Senegal 'operates in a societal context' of women's historical, societal dependence on men and women's generally low level of education' (Foley 2019).

Protections for children: The Labour Code in Senegal sets the minimum working age at 15, though there are mechanisms for exceptions to be made in lowering or raising the minimum age, according to the relative hazard of a job. ECPAT reports that 'child labour is a common phenomenon although it remains difficult to quantify' (Baury and Josenhans 2019). The UN CRC noted, 'with deep concern', 'the high number of children … working without having reached the minimum [working] age … and who are exposed to hazardous work, especially in agricultural and mining activities, domestic services and street vending'; 'the provisions of [a] ministerial decree … according to which boys under 16 may work in underground mines, quarries and fisheries'; and 'the growing number of girls who are subjected to the practice of confiage or are used as domestic servants' (2016).

There are also policies and laws in place to protect children from commercial sexual activity, child pornography, child begging, and human trafficking and other crimes. However, these laws are sometimes insufficiently clear in their definitions, or are insufficiently or inconsistently enforced. Some ministries have overlapping responsibilities and child protection programmes, such as 'Retrait les Enfnts de la Rue', have been critiqued for poor co-ordination (Human Rights Watch 2019).

The UN, international groups, and in-country advocates have been arguing for Senegal's adoption of the Children's Code to harmonise Senegalese policies and laws on children's rights (ECPAT 2018). Among the protections it would provide are 'fixing the minimum age of marriage at 18 … [and] measures to frame the practice of confiage so that it benefits from the same system of protection as adoption'. Despite years of drafting and affirmations from the Senegalese National Assembly and Supreme Court, the Children's Code has not yet been formally adopted (Baury and Josenhans 2019).

Labour rights are guaranteed under the Senegalese labour code and 2006 implementing decrees. Equality of access to work is, in theory, guaranteed—as is a maximum 40-hour week, and workers also have the right to organise. Forced or compulsory labour is prohibited under article L.4. There is provision for occupational health and safety but policy is not yet widely known and several important ILO conventions are not ratified (Fall 2020).

One of our respondents noted that although there was effective provision for unionisation in Senegal, it was under pressure from the pandemic (SEN 004). The normalisation of child labour and informal labour also challenged the ability to organise. 'We all know that many young people who work, often don't even have a contract' (SEN 008).

The TIP report for 2020 also notes that government regulated labour recruiters and brokers but did not report any investigations into fraudulent recruitment during the reporting period, consistent with the note that there were no adult referrals under trafficking laws (Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2020).

Selected local, cultural, and institutional factors

As noted above, social norms and traditions bring particular vulnerabilities for children in Senegal, particularly when they are separated from families in order to complete education or obtain work.

Forced begging: It is estimated that 100,000 talibés are subjected to forced begging to support their marabouts and daaras (Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons 2020). This activity 'meets the International Labour Organization's … definition of a worst form of child labor' (Human Rights Watch 2010). The UN CRC and other child rights advocates have been keen to regulate and modernise daaras, in part to stem this form of child labour that has become commonplace in the capital and other urban centres (UN CRC 2016; Human Rights Watch 2010). However, our respondents also emphasised that the daara system was also embedded within a complex setting of institutionalised power and longstanding social norms (SEN 001, SEN 008, SEN 017, SEN 022)

> *It is a problem of material interests, economic interests, but also religious beliefs and traditional practices. … All of this presages, the contours of a system that is well thought out and that revolves around monetary interests in which children are at the heart and also constitute the sources of provisions of these monetary revenues (SEN 001).*
>
> *You know, there are even families who are not necessarily poor, but who think that bringing children to Quranic schools is a form of socialization. Teaching them to be humble, to be prepared for a difficult life. So, there are the traditions that underlie this form of education (SEN 008).*

The institution also has popular support as many Senegalese people consider alms-giving to be part of their own spiritual discipline. According to Human Rights Watch (2010) 'the attendant need felt by many Senegalese to give alms, coupled with the widespread presence of begging talibés, has at once been exploited by many marabouts and contributed to the normalization of the practice'.

Different types of traditional religious practices and a concentration of demand were also factors that drove sexual exploitation in gold mining areas.

> *In gold mining sites, there are beliefs, there are mystical practices, which make gold diggers inclined to have a demand for prostitutes because they think that having dirty sex, having sex a little in situations - I don't know how to say this - but quite bizarre, maximizes their chances of getting gold. So that makes them have a demand in terms of young girls, in terms of prostitutes. … So, it's these two forms, which are linked, as I said, to tradition and social norms, but which are linked - in the case of forced prostitution - to the question of supply and demand, and to mystical beliefs as well. (SEN 008)*

For some respondents, however, engaging positively with the values of religious tradition were also critical to building resilience against exploitation at a community level

> *there is this capacity, this reference to the dignity of human beings, this reference to the equality of human beings, the principle of equality. In our culture we're told that we're all equal before God…. I think some of the beliefs that I cited earlier on the principles of equality and respect for the human being allow communities today to be resilient regarding these strong themes (SEN 017).*
>
> *we often meet parents who tell us that there can be no derogation for that child. "His whole family has gone through this; he has to go through this. All his brothers have been through it, so we cannot accept that they tell us, 'I don't want to be in a daara or anything else.'" He has to be in a daara, because in this family, everybody goes through a daara, so he too has to go through a daara. It's a question of very deep beliefs, and I think that in order to really have a protective environment for these children, we have to do a lot of sensitisation work with the families, with the communities…it's just that maybe they don't see things from the same perspectives as we do (SEN 019).*

'Confiage' represents another deeply entrenched tradition with both positive and negative effects**.** Typically, girls migrate from their families' rural localities to cities to be 'entrusted' to a third-party family. This practice is 'widespread throughout West Africa and motivated by the idea that the child will have access to better education. However, some girls are sold under the pretext of confiage and

others are entrusted to work as servants in exchange for remuneration' (Baury and Josenhans 2019). Sometimes, girls engage in confiage voluntarily, to 'improve their standard of living', which may include 'access to better … health care, education or financial support' (Baury and Josenhans 2019; de Vise-Lewis et al. 2012). However, girls in these arrangements are often at risk of economic exploitation, disease and other ill health effects, sexual abuse including commercial exploitation, and exclusion from both formal and informal education (UN CRC 2016; Baury and Josenhans 2019). Some respondents (SEN 009, SEN 020) emphasised that although confiage could have positive outcomes, it could also cover abuse and neglect. 'We are not against the confiage in itself; we are against the fact that people use it as an excuse.' (SEN 020)

A wide range of respondents in our study (SEN 001, SEN 003, SEN 008, SEN 016, SEN 019, SEN 020, SEN 022) also emphasised the pivotal role played by parents and families in preventing exploitation.

> *there are also parents who need to be held accountable. Not only that, but at least that they are made aware of the current issues. Because there are traditions that are 50 years old, that were only valid 50 years ago but that can no longer continue, because we are in a totally different context. So, the parents also need to be made aware, need to face their responsibilities, that they need to be aware that it is a right that they themselves must also allow to be implemented. That children are not objects, that they have rights, that they must be respected, and that they must be taken care of. (SEN 008)*

Multi-agency action and child protection systems: In general, funding for child protection services including social workers and trained law enforcement is insufficient to meet demand, meaning that only the most serious cases are investigated (Human Rights Watch 2019). However, in some areas communities have established local child protection committees, which were highly inclusive (SEN 013, SEN 022). One respondent described a local steering committee which had been established by the mayor, including Quranic masters, neighbourhood delegates, town councillors, imams and children, as well as all the associations involved in child protection. Another outlined a community-based monitoring system that had been operating prior to the pandemic to help prevent and address forced begging:

> *we have a community monitoring committee and this committee has been created through the decree that bans child begging in the locality. And through this decree, the daaras that exist throughout the locality would report the cases of child begging to us. So we would have daily statistics regarding the children, the talibés, who were begging in the street. And through those statistics, the monitoring committee would then suggest plans of action. In this locality, we have reinforced the means of the municipal brigade regarding protection of children rights and also regarding the interdiction and the ban of child begging. (SEN 24)*

Community groups, including womens' groups, were also deployed to help support daaras that required additional food and care for their students. However one respondent emphasised that providing coordination for multi-actor projects was important to success (SEN 025).

Safe housing and support for survivors: Unlike many parts of Senegal, Dakar has a network of government- and NGO-provided shelters that serve survivors of exploitation. However, respondents to our research described multiple resource gaps.

> *First, it is at the identification level. You need to have enough qualified staff, to identify them, to be able to refer them, but once they are legally referred, accommodation services are not necessarily available. The number of places available is quite limited. Then, psycho-social support is not necessarily available, because, well, it is victims who are going to be accommodated in shelters. But there are not enough technicians, trained social workers. ... Psychologists, let's not even talk about them. So overall the psycho-social support to enable victims to recover, to recover mentally, and everything. These are the gaps that we can see, and which should be improved. (SEN 008)*

NGOs actively reunite children with their families, however, this intervention is not always welcomed by families. Boiro and Einarsdóttir found that, from some parents' perspectives, 'the worst scenario for a boy was apparently not to suffer or be obliged to beg [at the daara], but rather to become

repatriated by an NGO'. If repatriated, their sons' education would be interrupted or terminated and families may be subjected to shame in their local communities (2020; 2016). A repatriated talibé may also be unwelcome if one of the reasons his parents sent him away was 'to have fewer mouths to feed' or to learn discipline because he was 'uncontrollable' at home (Einarsdóttir and Boiro 2016; Boiro and Einarsdóttir 2020). Furthermore, repatriation of a talibé can spark negative perceptions of him within his family and can, similarly, spark negative perceptions of his family within the community. The family of a repatriated boy may 'suspect that [he] was caught because he did something wrong, lacked persistence or did not bother to study'. Community members will commonly suspect that a repatriated boy was 'in connivance' with his mother who missed him to arrange his return home—the socially shameful implication being that 'the father is not "a real man" because a woman made the decision [for her son] to be repatriated' (Boiro and Einarsdóttir 2020).

Equally, although sex work is not considered to be exploitation under Senegalese law, girls or women who have left the practice of mbaraan may face stigmas in their communities (Foley 2019).

Political support for anti-slavery efforts: There is national and local political support for anti-slavery work, although international groups such as ECPAT and Human Rights Watch have called for the Senegalese government to follow through on commitments it has made. Despite some government-supported awareness raising and professional training (for example for the judiciary), 'some NGOs have pointed out a lack of cooperation from the government in the framework of awareness-raising programs against trafficking in persons' (ECPAT 2018).

Interviewees for our study agreed that political support was extremely important (SEN 008, SEN 009, SEN 022), but recognised that the political challenges of dealing with traditions and institutions could require sensitivity:

> *these issues, such as begging, are surrounded by a so-called religious veil, but also by a traditional veil, which makes it difficult for the government to really move forward, head-on, on these issues. So we progress, but by negotiating (SEN 008).*

At a local level some mayors and prefects have been successful in introducing community-level programmes to reduce forced begging and identify and shut down abusive daaras. This local level support has been critical to the success of some initiatives.

> *The Mayor has spared no effort for the success of this project. Each time, he never stopped asking us over and over again: what stage are we at? What are the needs we have and that we cannot solve, and that he could take care of himself? And these occasions and reminders motivated us more and made us understand that he too is following us because he wants, from his initial commitment, results to materialize at the end. That too was a factor of success, it was a source of motivation. (SEN 022)*

Local economic and business practices: Within Dakar it was noted by our interviewees that child labour was often visible, particularly within busy social spaces such as markets (SEN 008, SEN 023) 'these are children who are often below what the law allows, therefore children who are sometimes 7, 8, 9 years old ... There is light work, there is more dangerous work, there are also the worst forms of labour, but we find these children in all sectors.' (SEN 008).

The UN CRC has also voiced its concern over the impact of tourism, particularly in coastal resorts and some private investment practices on children's rights (2016). Concerns over tourism were also raised by ECPAT, who report that 'the majority of tourists having paid sex with young girls are of French (60%) and Belgian (25%) nationality' (2018).

The CRC's concern over investment practices pertains specifically to those involving the mining and fishing industries, which do not necessarily benefit local communities and may bring harmful consequences for families and children, such as the use of child labour and exposure to harmful substances. The Committee also noted a lack of information on regulatory frameworks to address the social and environmental responsibility of business corporations and industries, both national and international, that could prevent possible negative impacts from their activities on children (UN CRC 2016).

Individual awareness of signs of exploitation

Modern slavery prevention efforts taken by the Senegalese government, in cooperation with the CNLTP include 'awareness-raising activities on trafficking through television, radio, the press and the Internet, in seven different languages'. They also report that 'training on child protection has been given to police, prosecutors, and judges' (ECPAT 2018), although some of our respondents felt that further training remained necessary (SEN 009). In relation to community awareness, one of our respondents described the reach of government-sponsored information throughout Senegal as:

> *present in 14 regions, in 45 departments, but also in more than 50 municipalities through the committees, through the promotion and social reintegration centres, which can do a lot in the ambit of awareness activities (SEN 027).*

It is not clear however, that there is agreement within the most vulnerable communities on what constitutes exploitation. For example, some children in Senegal's daara system travel from the wider region, including Mali and Guinea-Bissau. Though 'begging was a hotly debated and sensitive issue,' among Guinea-Bissauan parents, and some do indeed '[classify] their sons' stay in Senegal as child trafficking,' others justify the begging in terms of the potential benefit that Quranic education will provide for their sons. Some parents view suffering, including forced begging, as 'a means to an end, and … acceptable when it resulted in something positive, such as the acquirement of knowledge' (Einarsdóttir and Boiro 2016).

Awareness-raising work in Senegal faces an additional, in-country challenge, in that campaigns may face obstacles in tapping into a unified public view of exploitation. City residents are often happy to give money when approached by talibés, as part of their spiritual practice. The discrepancies between legal definitions of modern slavery (at the international and Senegalese levels) and popular support of practices such as confiage and child begging by talibés suggest awareness of the existence of exploitation is inconsistent and many people may not consider these practices inherently risky.

4. Key impacts of Covid-19

The policy response to Covid-19 in Senegal

The first case of Covid-19 was registered in Senegal on 2nd March 2020. The government acted swiftly and relatively stringently (Hale et al. 2021) declaring a national state of emergency. These actions succeeded in maintaining cases at a low level throughout much of 2020. The state of emergency and curfew were lifted on June 30th 2020, and some international air travel resumed.

Policy responses included:

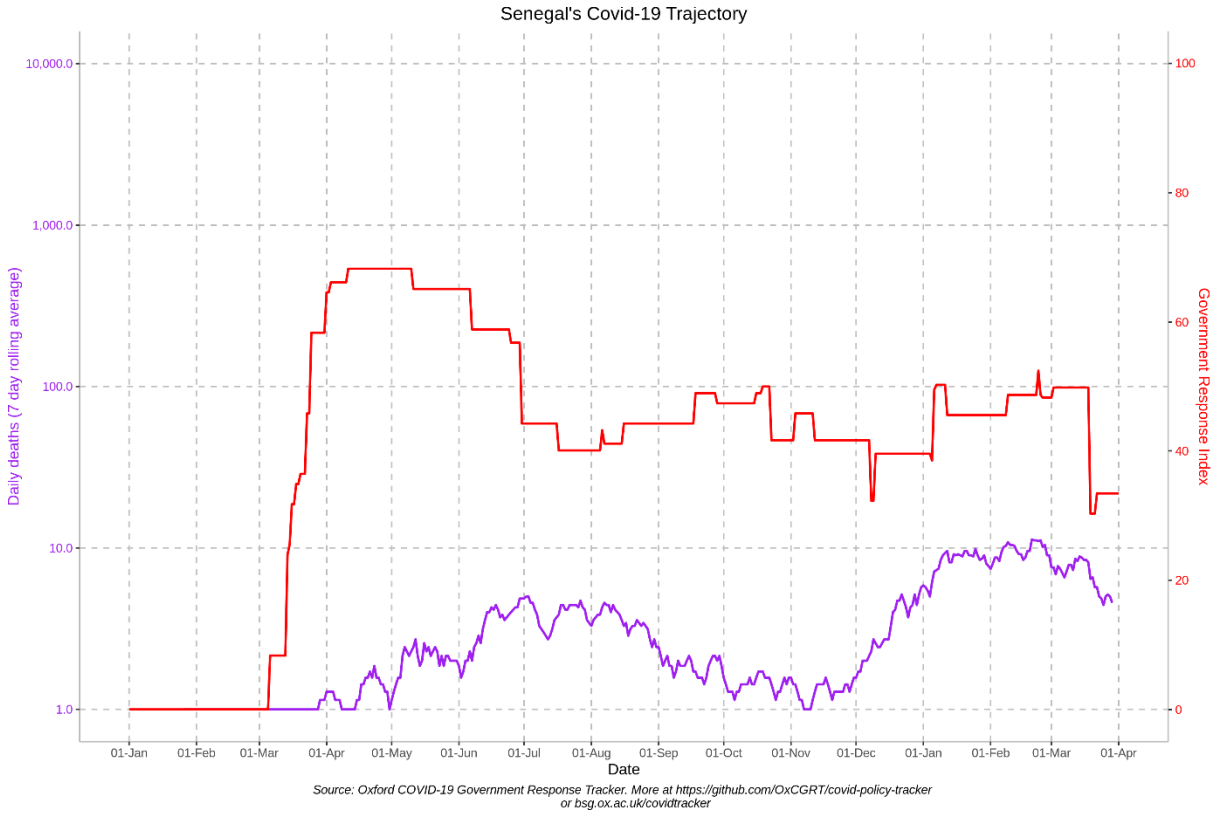
- Acting to suspend international air travel, close borders, and limit inter-regional travel
- Prohibition of inter-city travel
- Banning public gatherings, including closure of mosques
- Closing schools, initially for a period of 8 months
- Imposing a curfew
- The 'Zero Children in the Streets' project (see Box 2)

The government also created an economic and social resilience program to respond to the pandemic (PRES), which consolidated existing spending within the FORCE-Covid-19 fund. This was equivalent to 7% of GDP and underpinned by a revised budget. The plan had four main focal points:

1. Improving the health system, including testing, treatment and prevention.
2. Strengthening social protection, including food aid, and subsidising utility payments for poorer customers
3. Stabilizing the economy and the financial system to support the private sector and employment. This was the main focus of the funding, reflecting nearly 80% of resources. Some industries such as tourism and transport that were particularly severely affected were provided with direct financial support. Credit guarantees and tax obligation suspensions were provided for small and large businesses.
4. Securing supply and distribution for key foodstuffs, medicine and energy products.

However, a fresh wave of the virus began to take effect in November 2020 and the government re-imposed lockdown measures at the beginning of January 2021 (see figure 3). Dakar had a concentration of cases, so curfews were re-imposed and markets closed both there and in the city of Thies (IMF 2021). At the time of writing there have been a total of 1,054 deaths since the pandemic began and a reported 38,782 confirmed cases (Johns Hopkins University 2021). Vaccination began in late February 2021 and the government plans to vaccinate 20% of the population by the end of the year and 60% by March 2022.

Figure 3 Stringency of Government Response and daily deaths due to Covid-19 in Senegal (Source: Hale et al. 2021)



Looking longer term, the government has also revised its national development strategy (the Senegal emergent plan) to include renewed emphasis on self-sufficiency; reducing reliance on imported food, pharmaceuticals and health services; strengthening social protections and encouraging private sector intervention (IMF 2021, Reliefweb 2021). This has been backed by the UN through a Covid-19 readiness plan, launched in May 2020, based on the paradigm of 'building back better'. The UN plan also prioritises guaranteeing essential health services; social protections; protecting jobs, particularly within SMEs and the informal sector; financial stimulus to support the most vulnerable and multi-lateral / regional responses; and promoting social cohesion and community resilience and response (UN Senegal 2020).

Box 2:

Project 'Zero Children in the Streets'

At the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic. the Senegalese Ministry of Family and Child Protection implemented, as part of their emergency response, "Zéro Enfants Dans La Rue" (Zero Children in the Street). The purpose of this project was to identify and retrieve 20,000 children from the streets (10,000 in Dakar and 10,000 in other regions), where they were thought to be at high risk of catching and passing-on Covid-19. It also aimed to provide them with shelter-based or host-family care and, if possible, reunite them with their families.

This programme had a precursor in the 'Retrait des Enfants de la Rue' scheme which had been tested in Dakar over several phases in 2016-17 and 2018. The first phase of 'Le Retrait' had been critiqued for a lack of co-ordination and for returning more than 1000 children to the daraas that originally encouraged them to beg (Human Rights Watch 2019). Although later phases of the scheme gave more attention to family reintegration, they were relatively small scale and followed by insufficient levels of investigation and prosecution against exploitative marabouts. Overall, these programmes were considered to have had a 'limited impact in reducing or deterring forced child begging or other abuses against talibés' (Human Rights Watch 2019: 12).

By comparison with these earlier initiatives, Zéro Enfants Dans La Rue was a more ambitious operation, involving much higher numbers of children across Senegal. Child protection services at the national level were mapped, and local operational committees, at departmental level, were set up to coordinate identification and assistance. 2971 reception centres were established and food aid and hygiene and cleaning equipment provided. A cross section of international funders collaborated to support shelter and transport including UNODC, and USAID. (UNODC 2020) In addition the government provided training and advice on preventative social work in child protection (UNICEF 2020).

The programme was initially reported by the government to be a success, but there were also challenges, including a lack of PPE for intervention teams, and logistical problems in reaching and transporting children (Dakaractu, n.d.)

In November 2020 the government was reporting that at least 5330 talibés and street children had received care and support since the start of the pandemic, in the regions of Dakar, Fatick, Kaffrine, Kaolack, Sédhiou and Ziguinchor. Out of these, more than 90% 4797 children had been returned to their families, with others placed in protection centres (mainly children from neighbouring countries) (UNICEF 2020 Ministere De La Femme, De la Famille, Du Genre et De La Protection Des Enfants 2020:9). However, given the estimated 100,000 children thought to be subject to forced begging in Senegal (Human Rights Watch 2019) questions remain over the scale and long-term effectiveness of the initiative, although the government has committed to continuing multi-faceted action to end child begging.

Key impacts of Covid-19 emerging from interviews

Interviews with a range of stakeholders in Dakar revealed that social determinants of resilience against exploitation are being impacted at multiple levels. One respondent encapsulated the complex interaction of effects, commenting

> *it is a triple crisis, social, sanitary and economic, which has accentuated structural problems, weakened the institutions, put on the sidelines the application of legislation and the mechanisms of community solidarity (SEN 028).*

In many cases the existing vulnerabilities already highlighted in this report were being compounded by the pandemic's effects. Some of the specific areas are discussed in more detail below and summarised overleaf in **Table 2**. The broader thematic issues are outlined in more detail at the end of this section.

Structural impacts

Income: The National Agency for Statistics and Demography (2020) reports that the impact on jobs and income was the most significant impact of Covid-19, with 85% of households reporting a drop in income. Among heads of households who held a job before the crisis, 60% kept the same job, 4% changed jobs and 36% stopped work. For 30% of those who stopped the reason was Covid-19. Our respondents particularly highlighted the impact on income of vulnerable workers in the informal sector (SEN 004, SEN 008 SEN 027 SEN 029).

> *restrictive measures such as curfews and travel bans have particularly affected the informal sector of the economy, which employs more than 90% of the population, in terms of precariousness, reduced income and community solidarity and mutual aid mechanisms (SEN 029).*

One respondent also reported that many families had lost their homes due to a drop in income resulting in the inability to pay rent. An attempt by the president to encourage rental agencies to be flexible had not been observed in practice (SEN 004).

Some respondents drew a link between poverty and use of the daaras, being concerned that as poverty relating to the pandemic increased, more children would be exploited (SEN 019). Pressure upon children within the daara system also increased as children were required to bring in additional money to survive the crisis, or sometimes confined in accommodation without adequate access to healthcare or food (SEN 001, SEN 004).

The burden of responding to a drop in income was often falling upon children

> *'the Labor Code sets the minimum age for work at 15 years. In other words, no child should work before the age of 15. In reality, that is not the case because, as I said earlier, due to the Covid, some children who could not go to school were forced either to be in the markets, as carriers or forced to learn a trade. They were manual workers or helpers in construction sites.' (SEN 004)*

Young adults had also been severely impacted by the loss of employment and opportunity, and interviewees drew a direct link between Covid-19 and a recent increase in irregular migration attempts from Senegal.

> *I think that we have seen recently, in the sub-African or even Senegalese context, young people impacted by poverty, impacted by the economic crisis, who have taken pirogues to try to find an 'El Dorado', supposedly in Europe. So, these people, who a seems to seek an improvement of their lives' conditions, expose themselves to forms of exploitation precisely because of their vulnerability. (SEN 008)*

Precarity of migration was also heightened by the current lack of regulation for recruitment services or agencies who were recruiting for jobs overseas, particularly in the Gulf cooperation states, although two stakeholders spoke of ongoing work to address this issue (SEN 003, SEN 008).

Education: School children across the globe have been impacted by the school closures associated with nationwide lockdowns. In Senegal, schools were closed for eight months in the first lockdown (Redaction Africanews 2020). The implications for children in education included a reduction in the quality and content of their learning, delays in filing exam applications, exceeding the age limit to take key exams, and being forced to drop out without qualifications, if parents did not have the means for private schooling. Summer holiday camps that had been used for remedial classes and socio-educational activities had also ceased (SEN 004 SEN 016, SEN 017). One respondent noted the spatial and social impacts of isolation: 'Covid has affected all children's spaces. Children weren't even allowed to access recreational spaces anymore' (SEN 004).

Some schools had tried to provide online courses, but a relatively small proportion of students were equipped to access this learning, leading to entrenched inequalities (SEN 008, SEN 013). This combination of educational deprivation with a likely recession was felt by some to be a high risk factor for future exploitation:

> *In my opinion, the effects may reverberate through this generation on the quality of education and all programs. The risks of economic recession, that will lead to the loss of employment or the ramification of employment, what impact does that have to do with regard to the enlistment of young people in forms of trafficking, because the jobs might be missing. (SEN 017)*

Healthcare: Several respondents noted that attendances at healthcare facilities had dropped, due to reduced incomes or fear of the virus (SEN 008, 027). This also reduced ante-natal and maternity healthcare, particularly in rural areas, which had a knock-on effect in child birth registration and childhood immunisations. 'Whether we like it or not, the health structures, their priority was much more to deal with the spread of the pandemic so the services were limited' (SEN 017).

In common with other studies about the impact of Covid-19 (e.g. Jimenez et al. 2021), respondents also noted the mental health impacts of the pandemic (SEN 017, SEN 023). This had created a sense of crisis that in some cases had undermined anti-exploitation initiatives:

> *it's also a period of existential crisis, I mean it's more psychologically favorable to alms, children are submissive because every day you hear the great marabouts say, "Yes, we have to get that out, we have to say prayers, we have to give alms." The existence of a market, the offer in terms of begging, the offer of alms increased a lot during this period of crisis including psychological crises. People are stressed and in their representation, they believe they have to give, to give rice, money (SEN 017).*

Gender Inequalities had been entrenched and widened during the pandemic. This related to education: 'While boys were benefiting from online courses or homework, girls were confined to housework' (SEN 004) and also early marriage (SEN 004, SEN 009, SEN 014):

> *It can be a wish to protect themselves because their wage has been reduced and if they marry their daughter, they won't have to feed her anymore. For economic reasons due to the pandemic, they can do that because their daughter doesn't go to school anymore so why not give her in marriage with a cousin just like that? (SEN 014)*

Governance challenges

Several of our participants were concerned that birth registration rates had fallen, particularly in outlying rural areas.

> *Because of the fear that is prevalent in the population, reporting children to the civil registry can be problematic, especially in rural areas. That's for sure. Already, the question has been asked there for a very long time without a pandemic; but with the pandemic, it is even more so, because you have to move from village to village to go to the civil registry. … All children born in outlying villages are likely to be unregistered' (SEN 012).*

This was a problem that could lead to long-term effects, for example on ability to access education and training :

> *we often encountered obstacles due to the non-registration of children. They don't have identity papers, which makes it sometimes very difficult to reintegrate them into the professional circuit, or to be able to find suitable training for them. (SEN 019)*

Respondents also highlighted that government resources which had previously been targeted to anti-trafficking work were now supporting healthcare and a Covid-19 Resilience fund (SEN 009, SEN 028) although it was noted that the pandemic response was due to be reviewed in a government enquiry. Some NGOs (SEN 12, SEN 23) were also finding it more difficult to work in partnership with government

> *we are an organization that works on the application of laws that protect children. And to do that, you need interlocutors. And with Covid-19, we practically have no interlocutors. The State has fully mobilized around the pandemic. (SEN 023)*

In some instances, respondents were positive about the way in which Covid-19 had encouraged national and local government and NGO partners to work together. The most significant anti-exploitation initiative was the 'zero children on the street' policy, which drew together emergency child protection for withdrawal, shelter, care, family search and return. This represented for one partner a 'convergence of vision' which achieved 'very appreciable results that we have never achieved in the past' (SEN 001). However other respondents (SEN 008, SEN 012 SEN 017, SEN 032) were more sceptical on the long-term impact of the intervention and the government's ability to quantify results:

> *But have these children stayed at home? It is difficult to say. Didn't Covid-19 cause more children to go out into the streets? We don't have a baseline to say that either' (SEN 008).*

Access to justice had also been slowed by the pandemic, and enforcement of legislation had in some cases been compromised. Respondents (SEN 008) (SEN 014) (SEN 017) (SEN 023) pointed to delays and closures in the courts and a corresponding impact on anti-trafficking work: 'You can say that for example, regarding the referrals, there was at least one case per month of referrals before Covid, but since the Covid, it's zero, you understand? That was up to the court to say that' (SEN 017).

Social and Institutional challenges

Several respondents pointed to an increase in family strain and breakdown as a result of the pandemic (SEN 001, SEN 014, SEN 027)

> *there was a lot more violence in the families. Some families were no longer prepared to live together 24 hours a day, without leaving the house, and so on. So you can see what that does in terms of problems, violence, abuse, problems in terms of being able to manage your daily life. (SEN 027)*

There was also less community vigilance around child protection, which could leave children exposed to harmful practices:

> *The vigilance we ought to have in these times of Covid isn't there because everyone is taking about health, the pandemic, etc. And things such as child marriages and excision are happening in the background (SEN 009)*

In cases where children ending up living and working on the street, respondents agreed that their problems were compounded by the impact of lockdown restrictions (SEN 001, SEN 019):

> *most of these children who were on the street were surviving through begging, odd jobs here and there, and the generosity of local residents. These are all factors that have been reduced as a result of the Covid-19, because at one time, these children were seen as vectors of the disease, so there was a stigmatization that had become greater and that meant that the sources of income that they could have in normal times, they no longer had them because of the Covid-19, because either*

people were suspicious of them, or the possibilities that they had to do odd jobs, they no longer had them. (SEN 019)

Challenges for the anti-trafficking sector

Respondents noted a number of challenges for anti-trafficking professionals arising directly from lockdown restrictions. Two respondents noted that cases of human trafficking had not ceased during the lockdown, indeed cases of trafficking for sexual exploitation had increased, despite closure of borders (SEN 003, SEN 008). In many cases however, core anti-trafficking activities such as capacity building, sensitisation, outreach and survivor support had ceased (SEN 003) (SEN 013) (SEN 23). Lockdown also brought reduced visibility on certain problems, for example there were concerns that sex workers were no longer using bars and restaurants, and were potentially operating in spaces where they had less protection (SEN 017). In some cases community-based monitoring mechanisms had become unworkable (SEN 024).

The programme 'Zero children on the street' also placed additional pressure on shelters. Although the government had provided funding for shelter spaces, demand exceeded supply at some points:

'at the beginning of the pandemic, these were also the causes that affected the children, because at the beginning it was a disease that nobody knew about. There was a lot of media coverage. Everybody was talking, so the children were experiencing this psychosis at one point, and this resulted in an increase in requests for accommodation, and at one point it was very complicated to be able to offer accommodation to all the children who were actually requesting it.' (SEN 019)

the Sierra Leonean victims we had, the gendarmerie placed them in one of the traffickers' houses. They were 87 victims. We didn't have where to put them. They were foreigners, they were all women, there were only 10 boys who were in the group. At first, the gendarmerie placed them in the conference room of the hotel of the gendarmerie before placing them in one of the traffickers' houses (SEN 003).

Restrictions on night patrols and travel also impacted on some NGOs ability to serve children on the street

Night patrols are really crucial because it is what allowed us to meet the greatest number of children on the street and to bring them adequate care. At the start, that was the constraint we had. Afterwards, there was also a limitation related to the ban on inter-urban transport. As a result, we could no longer go beyond Dakar, and we could no longer return the children to their families. Because here too we do a lot of family mediation for the children we take off the streets, trying to reintegrate them into the family circle. These are all constraints that we had with the emergence of the Covid-19 crisis. Initially, we were able to get permits to circulate at night, but after that it didn't continue. It was very complicated. (SEN 019)

Some positive adaptations had also occurred in making more extensive use of technology. Two interviewees (SEN 014, SEN 024) spoke about changing practices: 'the pandemic forced us to adapt and to use social media for example and to start being more orientated towards computing tools. We were doing videoconferences for example. That's what allowed us to keep on working during the pandemic and to stay alive as an organization.' (SEN 024)

One respondent also expressed a wish to see more long-term and sustainable solutions emerging from the crisis:

we need to build and to open centres that will stay there after COVID and that every time we pick a child up from the street, he can be taken there…. Then we need to think how to put in place some long lasting alternatives because when you pick a child up from the street, it's not simple to send them back to their family. You need to elaborate a life plan, a study plan, and a professional plan with them so that they don't go back on the street. It's something that we should do without waiting for a crisis to happen. The crisis is a good excuse to put that in place but when the crisis ends, we

need to be able to continue because another crisis can come back at another time, under another shape. (SEN 020)

A summary of detailed impacts arising from the pandemic is given in **Table 2**. This table shows that Covid-19 is impacting on multiple 'social determinants' of resilience against exploitation. Although there are also assets in Senegalese society that help to mitigate these impacts (such as, for instance, the effective public health measures which helped to contain the pandemic during 2020) the table illustrates how diverse and widespread the effects of the pandemic have been.

Table 2: Impacts of the pandemic on social determinants of exploitation

Structural Challenges	Covid Complications
Informal employment for 97% population	▪ Job losses ▪ Reduced freedoms for unions to demonstrate ▪ Reduced ability for companies to honour social obligations/social security funds ▪ Income reductions and loss of housing ▪ More child labour to compensate for pressures ▪ Increased activity relating to irregular migration to Europe by sea
Overcrowded housing for a majority of the population	▪ Increased vulnerabilities for children in exploitative unstable or unsafe homes, and for sex workers
Entrenched inequalities for women and girls	▪ Increase in domestic violence, sexual violence, theft and violent crime in general ▪ More domestic responsibilities for girls than boys during lockdown
Inconsistent and unequal access to education	▪ Eight-month closure of schools resulting in decrease in child safety and support services ▪ Exacerbation of inequality in access to education ▪ Digital exclusion adds a further cost barrier ▪ Potential long-term impacts on qualifications and earnings
Unequal access to healthcare	▪ The pandemic has decreased registered births, impacting on citizenship documentation ▪ Health concerns include immunization of children, fewer people able to attend clinics or afford the cost ▪ Lockdown is also impacting upon mental health and community solidarity
Governance Challenges	
Child registration and citizenship documentation	▪ The pandemic has decreased registered births, impacting on citizenship ▪
Complexity of law and policy on children	▪ Re-direction of resources to concentrate on COVID impacts ▪ Less joined-up working between government and NGOs ▪ More silo working (though also some adaptation – e.g., greater use of online technologies for coordination)
Lack of resources for child protection and enforcement of existing law and policy	▪ Question over the impact of the 'Zero children on the street' policy? Many children have returned. ▪ The pandemic has slowed or halted prosecutions and legal proceedings. ▪ Existing shelters were overwhelmed during lockdown.

	▪ Need for further data collection and monitoring to understand the changes occurring.
Lack of attention to exploitation of adults No regulation of employment agencies	▪ Limited attention to exploitation overseas in Gulf or Arab countries. ▪ No referrals of adults to shelters.
Corruption	▪ Trafficking for sexual exploitation has continued cross-border.

Social / Institutional Challenges	
55% of population under 18. Many children are not being cared for by parents / family	▪ Potential increase in begging, the use of confiage and practice of mbaraan as pressures on families increase.
Normalisation / necessity of hazardous child labour	▪ Children are under greater pressure to work but also stigmatised as a 'vector' of COVID
Traditions and institutions that underpin the daaras system	▪ Increased pressure on daaras to raise income, deteriorating hygiene and safety
Early marriage / Female Genital Cutting (FGC)	▪ Some consensus that families have seen more early marriage, FGC, sexual violence as children have been excluded from school

Challenges for the anti-trafficking sector	
A tendency to focus on particular aspects of exploitation rather than a broader definition	▪ During Covid-19, children—especially talibés— form the primary focus of discussions, with less attention to adults and other forms of exploitation.
Insufficient resources to meet current need	▪ Diversion of resources from anti-trafficking programmes and support activities. ▪ Suspension of antislavery activities, reduced awareness raising and community activity, reduced shelters and support (particularly for street children) reduced opportunities for re-integration with families.

5. Thematic issues emerging from the analysis

1) Terminology: the need to develop a shared understanding of concepts

A number of respondents (for instance SEN 004, SEN 009, SEN 013, Sen 016) made the point that the terms modern slavery and human trafficking were not resonant in the Senegalese context, as they were seen to be derived from UK or US law. This problem increases the barriers that government and NGOs face in developing shared objectives and a consensus for action, both in relation to agreeing priorities with international funders and with different stakeholders within Senegal. It also mitigates against developing a broader conception of exploitation beyond 'forced begging' and hampers efforts to engage communities in recognising that slavery-like practices continue to exist, and acting to challenge different forms of exploitation.

> *there is this perception of communities with regard to the question of how, for example, to find an appropriate term to say that modern slavery means this, or, indeed, highlight it across all the nation's languages. So, I think that if we manage to undo these shackles, we will have some paradigms and parameters that we can take to communities and make them more aware so they can have a greater understanding of the issue' (SEN 009).*

2) Addressing the gap between legislation and implementation

There was a recognition (SEN 004, SEN 008, SEN 019) that although Senegal had multiple laws to prevent different forms of exploitation, these were often not implemented. Sometimes this was due to a lack of resource, or an absence of alternative choices:

> *we are quick to ratify the conventions, we are quick to draw up the laws, but in practice, in terms of implementation, we can all see that the protection or promotion of the fundamental rights of these people is not a reality. There are, as I said, many children who are in forced labor. Precisely because they come from poor families, children who sell water, children who work in the market, children who work in garages, and so on. (SEN 008)*

In other cases, respondents pointed to a lack of enforcement

> *There is a law that prohibits child begging, but this law is not applied. Because we always find children who are on the streets of Dakar, who are exploited through begging by Quranic masters, there is no policy of repression behind it. We can say that generally speaking, at least as far as child protection is concerned, there are laws that have been enacted, but it is the enforcement of these laws that constitutes the problem. (SEN 019)*

Another factor could be lack of understanding or awareness that laws were being developed or in place. One basic challenge faced by activists is literacy: 'half of the population is illiterate. How do you want people in a country where illiteracy is rampant to know what legal and regulatory provisions they need to rely on to be able to enjoy all their rights?' (SEN 016). Another respondent doubted the knowledge of employers in relation to the hours that could be worked by a child apprentice (SEN 10). However, steps could be taken to make existing legislation better understood, for instance through translating significant pieces of legislation. One respondent detailed how translating legislation into Arabic had improved negotiations with grand marabouts, who had previously not known the content of relevant laws (SEN 017).

Respondents also frequently cited social and cultural norms and institutions that undermined community recognition of the law. These required long-term strategies for change that went beyond awareness-raising:

> *resistances to change are intrinsic, especially because the skills, the beliefs that had been adopted long ago in a secular way, cannot be changed in one day, but this must be part of a generational process that must lead after several decades to a new form of consciousness, a new generation of populations that will have to turn away from all these practices. It is a problem of material interests, economic interests, but also religious beliefs and traditional practices that today constitute these burdens. (SEN 001)*

Many respondents (SEN 008, 009, SEN 014, SEN 017, SEN 020, SEN 022, SEN 024) also pointed to the importance of involving all relevant actors in communities. Part of the challenge in relation to this work was recognising that communities were part of the problem as well as the solution, in tolerating exploitation and allowing it to continue:

> *if we talk about the issue of begging, it is also linked to the issue of the demand and supply of alms. Since there are people who give, there are people who will be ready to receive. So as long as the Senegalese continue to give alms, there are people who will find means to retrieve these donations. The communities must also be made aware of these issues and be held accountable…So, this means that there are levels of responsibility, which can certainly vary, but they are there at the level of the State, at the level of parents and also at the level of the community as a whole. (SEN 008)*

There are many children who are victims of sexual exploitation within the family circle, many children who are victims of forced marriages, who are exploited through labour. These are all things that sometimes families do, that communities see and that communities, I won't say, condone, but no one says anything. (SEN 019)

Solutions suggested by interviewees involved deep and extended programmes of community engagement, including parents, political leaders, religious leaders, and survivors.

> *'We need to raise awareness among people, among the victims and the children. We cannot do things without involving them; they need to participate, to write, to speak in their own name, not their father's name. The children, the women, all the victims need to speak out'. (SEN 014)*

> *'Involve especially the real actors, the Quranic masters in question, let the associations not be associations that are embodied at all the time by the same people…. All of this will come from strong consensus, from meetings, from a dynamic of deep consultations. Let the religious leaders be integrated, let them really be told what it's all about. I think there are many things we can do that will allow us to succeed.' (SEN 022)*

In some cases such engagement could lead to simple but innovative solutions, for example SEN 022 described an initiative that had been developed with Quranic masters to find alternative sources of income that could help to meet daily expenses.

There was also an issue of ownership – needing to work with communities to show that a wide spectrum of exploitation existed, and that issues such as trafficking were not European constructs with limited application in Senegalese society:

> *communities, they think this comes from Europe. We need to create a view from Senegal, and for there to be images of this trafficking from Senegal or Africa' SEN 009. Again survivor roles were crucial 'the victims need to accept to speak out so that all the Senegalese people know that it's a reality in our country (SEN 032)*

The ultimate aim was to persuade populations to 'appropriate the project so that when there's no sponsor anymore, they can still organize themselves with their own means to continue the work.' (SEN 024)

3) Co-ordination of efforts

There were also calls for improved coordination of efforts: ‘If, today, one lone organisation thinks it can stir up the world, it’s mistaken. Actually, currently, we need synergies’. (SEN 009). This co-ordination could occur at a range of different levels. It included coordination of international organisations and local agendas. There were a number of promising examples of this type of embedded community development action at municipality and locality level. However, it was clear that local initiative and enforcement also needed to be supported from central to local levels in terms of government and law enforcement.

> *there was a moment when the prefect with whom we were working for the return was transferred, posted elsewhere. Because he was told: "Who asked you to do it? Who was it? Was it the State?" If the State is the great gravedigger of law enforcement, what are the others going to do?’ (SEN 016)*

> *the question of the exploitation of child begging should be mentioned in all the community policies. That’s a challenge. I think that COVID has completely dismantled what we had done. (SEN 024)*

There was also a greater need for co-ordination between the state – which was recognised as playing a pivotal role, and the actions of local and civil society partners, who were viewed as essential to service delivery.

> *What could also be done is really to better coordinate the response at the level of State operators, but also with civil society partners, or technical and financial partners working in this field. Better coordinate actions, better mobilize resources, and perhaps better care for victims at an early stage. (SEN 027)*

Some respondents also expressed a need for stronger connections to be generated between different types of policy and service provision. For instance, multiple respondents made the connection between access to maternal health facilities and child registration. Many also made a link between barriers to education and child exploitation in the daaras or child labour. For some actors this implied a more explicit connection between anti-exploitation work and social and economic development (SEN 009, SEN 017, SEN 020):

> *Today, child trafficking also impacts on what I call social balance or ecosystem, because of the structure of the family. If children are removed from families, and young girls leave their communities to engage in domestic servitude, in some forms of trafficking or for the purpose of exploiting domestic servitude, there will be serious need problems. I think it impacts the development of human resources within the communities. (SEN 017)*

4) Data

Several of our respondents highlighted that accurate empirical data was either missing or that collection had been hampered through the lockdown period (SEN 013, SEN 020, SEN 024, SEN 032). Some respondents made the case for new and ongoing monitoring of emerging and displaced problems arising from Covid-19.

> *during the Covid period, the curfew from 9 p.m., all these families who survived by selling popular food in the streets and so on, restaurants and everything, they are affected.*

> *Now, do the families who are affected by this use the same strategy of survival by sending the children to work as domestics? The children leave their community and are in a situation of mobility, within the framework of their strategies? You can't say because no survey has been carried out in this direction. (SEN 032)*

6. Implications for the process of building resilience after Covid-19

"we are perhaps in the process of finding intermediate solutions, but that do not allow today these populations to turn away from these practices and change their behaviour" (SEN 001)

Some assumptions that have previously underpinned anti-trafficking work in Senegal are questioned by the findings of this research. In particular the wide-ranging impacts of Covid-19 suggest a need to reassess the 'theory of change' underpinning approaches to addressing exploitation.

This research suggests that in response to Covid-19 there is a need to:

- reframe the language and focus of anti-trafficking work;
- adopt a whole-systems perspective on funding and policy implementation;
- build more effectively on local knowledge and expertise.

1) Reframing the language and focus of anti-trafficking work

The current focus (and terminology) which associates much anti-exploitation work with child begging is too narrow. In order to prompt more effective action it could be broadened to explicitly include topics including sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, trafficking and early marriage. The existing concentration on children should be widened to include adults, families and communities.

Funders and Government should develop more clearly articulated and harmonized anti-TIP strategies, tools, and terminology reaching the community level. Standardisation of terminology and a broader focus could deliver benefits in mobilising community support for implementation. Local languages should also be used to communicate ideas (including information about relevant laws and legal structures).

2) Adopting a whole-systems perspective on funding and policy implementation

As Covid -19 has exacerbated many of the structural factors underpinning exploitation, there are benefits to be gained from adopting a more holistic perspective to anti-trafficking initiatives, including creating linkages between development programmes and anti -trafficking work. This would also be in step with emerging theory about the drivers of freedom, which links action to reduce exploitation explicitly to the sustainable development agenda (Cockayne 2021). The focus of anti-trafficking organisations also needs to move upstream from enforcement and service delivery to include more conversations about education, gender equality, business regulation, welfare and health.

Funders should clarify priorities and urgent items for financing, paying attention to prevention programmes as well as urgent needs. Workshop participants also suggested that there was a need to investigate the destination and use of anti-trafficking finance support, to understand who benefits directly, and what proportion of funding is currently reaching government, communities, victims, civil society organisations etc.

Government should also review and bridge gaps caused by the pandemic in the activities of the Cellule and other anti-TIP operations, and embed anti-trafficking objectives within wider development programmes. Civil Society and NGOs could support by advocating for strategies to address structural issues, such as the gender inequalities that contribute to exploitation of women and girls, and developing further advocacy or capacity building to support gendered and adult aspects of trafficking in Senegal.

3) Building more effectively on local knowledge and expertise

The research demonstrated the importance of understanding local culture and practice, and engaging directly with communities to deliver effective programming. In order to achieve greater impact, funders should be guided by local expertise in planning future programming, and also continue to support the Cellule in implementing their action plan. Government should – in-turn - develop greater coordination between national priorities and plans and community village level structures and, recognising sociocultural diversity.

Civil Society and NGOs can bring more weight to advocacy work by incorporating legal perspectives and expertise into their advocacy campaigns, and NGOs should work more extensively with communities to identify problems and solutions.

Working towards a revised 'theory of change'

The adaptive cycle (page 6) offers some suggestions on how stakeholders in Senegal might build a revised theory of change for work after Covid-19. These could include:

1. Diagnosis: working with all key stakeholders towards a refreshed vision, shared language and understanding of the key challenges moving forward in the context of Covid-19. Reinstating and improving existing data and monitoring to inform programming.
2. Challenge: Involving a wider range of stakeholders in plans to address exploitation. Engaging intensively at local and community level, building on examples of co-operative work at the municipality level around child begging. Encouraging wide-ranging participation, including the voices of victims, children, parents, and local political and religious leaders.
3. Change: Looking beyond awareness campaigns to longer-term sustained programmes aimed at shifting social norms and delivering institutional change. Connecting anti-exploitation programming to other core areas of development and promoting collaborative activity between different types of NGO.
4. Normalising and maintaining change: continuing to work on clarifying and improving key areas of legislation and policy, and acting on legislative gaps, such as regulation of employment agencies. Continuing training and sensitisation for key actors in the field.

Summary of Recommendations

Funders should:

- Clarify priorities and urgent items for financing, paying attention to prevention as well as urgent needs.
- Use local expertise to build more effectively on past programming.
- Investigate the destination and use of anti-trafficking finance support, to understand who benefits directly, and what proportion of funding is currently reaching government, communities, victims, civil society organisations etc.
- Support the Cellule in implementing their action plan.

Government should:

- Review and bridge gaps caused by the pandemic in the activities of the Cellule and other anti-TIP operations.
- Develop more clearly articulated and harmonized anti-TIP strategies, tools, and terminology reaching the community level. Standardisation of terminology would deliver considerable benefits in implementation.
- Use local languages to communicate ideas (including relevant laws and legal structures)
- Develop greater coordination between national priorities and plans and community village level structures, recognising sociocultural diversity.

Civil Society/NGOs should:

- Support government to develop further strategies to address the gender inequalities that contribute to exploitation of women and girls
- Develop further advocacy or capacity building to support gendered and adult aspects of trafficking in Senegal
- Bring more weight to advocacy work by incorporating legal perspectives and expertise into advocacy campaigns.
- Work more extensively with communities to identify problems and solutions, and to bring them to the attention of funders

7. Questionnaires used to explore the factors impacting upon anti-slavery resilience

Three separate tools were used to explore antislavery resilience in semi-structured interviews. The research team selected the most appropriate tool for each stakeholder, according to that stakeholder's particular expertise. In some cases stakeholders responded to more than one questionnaire.

A) Legislation and regulation audit

We spoke to local experts in law and policy to examine the existence of provisions in domestic law, the extent of local implementation and COVID-related impacts in relation to the following issues:

1. Universal birth registration
2. Universal provision of citizenship ID
3. Universal access to working documentation / passports
4. Mandated education for all primary school age children (0-10)
5. Mandated education for all secondary school age children (11-18)
6. Universal access to healthcare
7. Availability of income support assistance for living / housing costs
8. Prohibition of child marriage
9. Prohibition of child labour
10. Equalities / Anti-Discrimination legislation: Sex, race /ethnicity, Religion, Age, Sexuality, Disability
11. Prohibition of forced commercial sexual exploitation
12. Anti-corruption legislation
13. Regulation of employment agencies and intermediaries
14. Minimum wage legislation
15. Rights to labour organisation / unions
16. Health and safety at work legislation
17. Environmental protection legislation
18. Anti-trafficking or modern slavery legislation (including trafficking, slavery, servitude, forced and compulsory labour)
19. Transparency in supply chains legislation
20. Rights to shelters and support for victims of modern slavery and human trafficking
21. Anti-criminalisation legislation for victims of human trafficking
22. Access to compensation for victims of modern slavery and human trafficking
23. Any differences in any of the above provisions in relation to migrant labour?
24. Any other issues that you would like to highlight that have not been covered above?

B) Policy and Practice Context Questionnaire

We spoke to local experts in anti-trafficking policy and practice to explore the following questions:

1) Perceptions of local vulnerabilities

1.1) What types of exploitation are you aware of in this locality?
1.2) How would you describe this exploitation? (E.g. forced labour, sexual exploitation, MSHT, CSE(C))
1.3) Which groups do you perceive as being most vulnerable to exploitation in this locality? (E.g. women, youth, street children, homeless people, workers)
1.4) Has Covid-19 made a difference to the numbers or groups of people who are affected?

2) Prevention Context

2.1) What organisations, policies, government, NGO, community or faith provision usually helps to keep vulnerable individuals safe from exploitation in this locality?
2.2) What impact has Covid-19 had on these vulnerable individuals (if any) and why?
2.3) What impact has Covid-19 had on the organisations, policies, and service provision that usually helps to keep people safe?
2.4) Where are the main gaps?

3) Local Discovery / Enforcement Context

3.1) How (if at all) are local people encouraged to report examples of exploitation (e.g. awareness campaigns, hotline etc.)?
3.2) Who are the principle government, community, faith actors or NGOs working on enforcement issues in this locality?
3.3) What types of exploitation are investigated most frequently?
3.4) What (if any) are the key issues preventing or restricting local enforcement action?
3.5) Has Covid-19 made a difference to enforcement or access to justice for victims?

4) Local Respite and Recovery Context

4.1) What local services are available to support victims / survivors of exploitation (government, community, faith or NGOs)
4.2) Has access to any of these services been restricted as a result of Covid-19?
4.3) What kinds of problems have victims / survivors experienced as a result of the pandemic?
4.4) What are the key gaps in local service provision for victims and survivors at present?

5) Local Sustainable Resilience Context

5.1) What aspects of the local economy prevent or increase risks of exploitation? (e.g. availability of loans, types of industry, unsustainable business practices)
5.2) What political issues impact upon exploitation in this locality? (e.g. anti-regulation / anti-migration policies.)
5.3) Do traditions or religious issues impact upon exploitation in this locality? If so how?
5.4) How has Covid-19 affected any of these contextual factors, and if so, how?
5.5) What services, policies or practices would help?

6) Further Questions

6.1) Is there any issue on this topic we should mention that has not yet been discussed?
6.2) Can you suggest any news, reports or literature that would help us to explore these issues further?
6.3) Do you have any questions for us?

C) Project discussion

We spoke to local project leads for anti-trafficking projects and interventions to explore the following issues:

1) (If possible ask interviewee to draw and share a local anti-trafficking system / stakeholder map)
   - Can you name the organisations or actors you work with most frequently?
   - How does your project fit with other anti-trafficking / slavery initiatives in the area?
2) What's unique about your project? Why was it established?
3) Which other organisations do you have particularly strong links with. Why is that?
4) How do you measure or judge the impact of your work? What does success look like? (Tell us a story…)
5) Thinking about your project, what factors affect success?
   - Which ones are fully in your control?
   - Which can you influence?
   - Which are you concerned about but cannot control?
6) What are the biggest challenges for your work at present?
7) What extra pressures has Covid-19 brought?
8) Where do you see the biggest remaining gaps in the system?
9) How do you manage those gaps at present?
10) What would help to close those gaps?
11) Who can make that happen?
12) Who else should we speak to about these issues?
13) Are there any reports or literature on these issues you would recommend?
14) Do you have any follow-up questions for us?

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Published July 2021.